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IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN ZIMBABWE AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

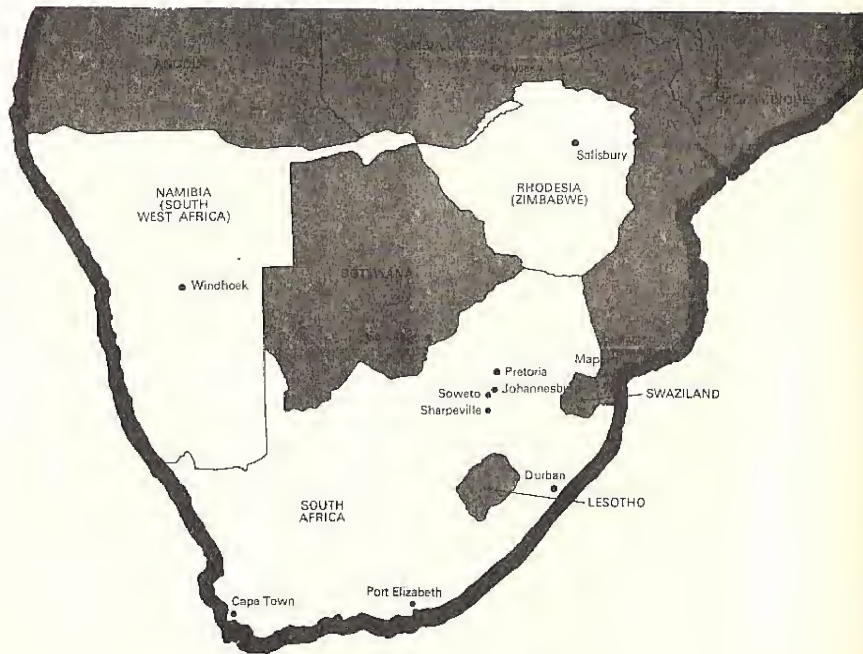
By the President of
the People's Republic of Mozambique
SAMORA MACHEL



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IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN ZIMBABWE IN PARTICULAR AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN GENERAL

By Comrade Samora Machel



This is a major speech by his excellency, Mr. Samora Moises Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, concerning the position of the People's Republic of Mozambique vis-a-vis the evolution of the situation in southern Africa and focusing on Zimbabwe, which was delivered at Maputo on 15 September 1978.



INTRODUCTION

Once more, imperialists are at it again! Their main purpose is to perpetuate the exploitation of the peoples of Southern Africa and their natural resources by installing black puppet regimes in that region.

In 1974, they tried through the Southern Africa detente exercise to hi-jack our revolution and by-pass the leadership of our liberation movement. At the moment, they are cooking up more designs to that effect. The Smith and puppet regime which represents colonialism and imperialism in our country is losing the war to the forces of liberation. The black puppets who were co-opted by Ian Smith in March this year, have also failed to sustain that system.

Imperialists are now geared towards coming up with new puppets to represent their interests. It is in line with these machinations that on September 15th, 1978, the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Samora Moises Machel gave the following statement.

Tirivafi John Kangai

Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)
Chief Representative
to the Americas and the United Nations

*Speech by His Excellency Mr.
Samora Moises Machel, President
of the People's Republic of
Mozambique, delivered at Maputo
on 15 September 1978.*

I

For imperialism, *apartheid* in South Africa, colonialism in Namibia and the settler rule in Zimbabwe are historically condemned.

However, tactical conveniences and capitalism's immediate survival needs determine the inevitability of imperialism's alliance with such regimes.

In Southern Africa, imperialism once again faces a dilemma: to support the forces of freedom or the forces of oppression and exploitation. It is the contradiction between its tactical alliances and the strategic objective of preserving and intensifying political and economic hegemony.

We became well acquainted with this problem in the period of colonial domination in our country. Imperialism experienced the contradiction of effectively supporting Portuguese colonialism economically and militarily, while keeping up a constant ambiguity at the diplomatic level so as to avoid being dragged down with the inevitable defeat of Portuguese colonialism.

Now we are witnessing imperialism's attempt to find a formula permitting a compromise solution for the present situation in Southern Africa.

The efforts of the Western propaganda machine to influence public opinion are concentrated on reducing the situation in our area to the problem of the supremacy of white minorities.

Imperialism would like Namibia and Zimbabwe to be seen, through a process of simplification and analogy with South Africa, as countries in which what is under discussion is merely minority rule. This is how the colonial and illegal nature of the present regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe is masked. The armed struggle for national liberation is branded in the capitalist West as a racial war in this part of the world, a conflict between extremist whites and extremist blacks.

In this way, imperialism keeps its public opinion prepared to accept as legitimate any eventual direct intervention.

Imperialism projects itself as a firm adversary of the minority and racist regimes but as the guardian of the settlers' lives and property, as the guarantee of a trauma-free solution.

Thus imperialism presents as a possibility, co-existence between liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa and maintenance of the present economic and social structure of exploitation and humiliation.

We have to be able to accept the fact that imperialism's margin for maneuver is widened by our own mistakes.

Our basic errors derive from the traditional African goodwill and hospitality. For five hundred years we in Africa have been receiving as our own brothers people who frequently have come with the objective of dominating and exploiting.

In this spirit, we received in recent years the British envoys and, later, the North American envoys, who brought us their proposals for solutions in Southern Africa, especially Zimbabwe.

The Front Line States and the African continent in general received these envoys and their proposals with hospitality and goodwill. In the concrete case of Zimbabwe, the regime is so inhuman and odious that we were sure he was the common enemy. We were convinced that for all of us, the obstacle to the liberation of Zimbabwe was Smith and his illegal regime. We thought that Britain and the USA could be on our side in support of the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe and in getting rid of the illegal Smith regime.

Our candor and the sincerity with which the Front Line States tried to advise the British and the Americans, enabled imperialism to improve its strategy, enabled imperialism to maneuver so that, till now, it has managed to maintain the illegal Smith regime.

The main objective of the imperialist action is not to overthrow Smith. The main objective of imperialism is to destroy the liberation movement, to destroy any form of organization which enables the people to liberate themselves.

Imperialist strategy has been, after all, extremely coherent.

Imperialism has two operational detachments in Zimbabwe: Smith and his lackeys and Great Britain and its partners. The operational strategy is always to have ready two solutions: an internal solution and an international solution.

When one of the alternatives is about to reach a solution to the problem, imperialism sets in motion the other alternative.

When the internal situation is difficult for the regime, a proposal is made which tries to show that the international solution is the speediest way towards liberation in Zimbabwe.

When the international solution is on the way to becoming fact, leaving Smith without room to maneuver, an attempt at an internal solution is always made. Smith then seems to be ready to hand over power. Imperialism encourages the alternative and shelves the previous process.

II

In 1965, the action of the Zimbabwean people and the international sequence of events made the granting of independence by Great Britain and the handing over of power to the nationalist leaders in this colony politically inevitable.

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence was therefore the first attempt at an internal solution aimed at exempting Great Britain from its political responsibilities.

Refusing, for the first time in history, to intervene militarily in a rebellious colony of hers, Great Britain, with the backing of international imperialism, organized the great diplomatic farce.

When they were imposed, economic sanctions appeared to the world to be a great victory against the rebel regime. The international community was committed to their implementation. However, imperialism had never entertained the possibility of leaving Smith isolated.

While the majority of countries were tabling motions in preparation for the isolation of the illegal regime, the imperialist countries, with the connivance and even direct participation of Great Britain itself, were in fact studying ways of countering and neutralizing the effect of sanctions.

In actual fact, international imperialism has never broken off its economic links with Smith.

The increase of sporadic armed engagements between guerrilla groups and the racist regime's military forces alerts imperialism to the danger of the consolidation of the people's armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

In Smith's jails in 1969, Derek Robinson, the Head of Special Branch, gets in touch with Ndabaningi Sithole, the leader of the

radical wing of the Liberation Movement, and convinces him to renounce the path of the armed struggle. Ndabaningi Sithole accepts the Robinson demands that in exchange for his release he should make his renunciation not just his individual position but that of the party. The other jailed leaders reject the Smith proposal carried by Sithole, which accounts for the failure of the attempt.

In 1970, the Portuguese colonialists, the essential stabilizing factor of the Smith regime, suffer a decisive defeat in the Gordian Knot offensive. And imperialism understands the strategic importance of the defeat.

In fact the British Government launches a diplomatic offensive based on the six principles published in 1965/1966, culminating in the Smith-Douglas Home agreement.

In Zimbabwe the nationalist parties are banned. The leaders are under arrest. In such conditions the Pearce Commission's report would have no international credibility. The nationalists understand the contradictions in which the imperialists find themselves and form the African National Council (ANC) in 1971, inviting Bishop Muzorewa, a religious figure, to be President. Smith can not ban it! The Pearce Commission concluded that the people of Zimbabwe were against the Smith-Douglas Home agreement. Never-the-less imperialism would not be defeated in this confrontation: favoring the transformation of the ANC into a party led by the Bishop, it sought to channel popular resistance through a body which was opposed to the armed struggle.

In effect, shortly thereafter, Muzorewa began to criticize and condemn the armed liberation struggle.

In the same year that the ANC was born, in Zambia, Chikerema launched a divisionist offensive to destroy ZAPU. Even ZANU was affected by this maneuver. Chikerema forms FROLIZI.

The defeat of Portuguese colonialism in 1974 upsets the balance of the forces in the region. In an attempt to curtail the

victories of MPLA and FRELIMO imperialist maneuvers are intensified. Vorster tries to create conditions and gain time for imperialist subversion and diplomacy by accepting for the first time the idea of dialogue for the transfer of power to the majority in Zimbabwe.

With the establishment of the Front Line States and the defeat of the settlers' desperate attempts to prevent the transfer of power to the Mozambican People, the balance of power in Southern Africa begins to change in favor of the cause of the people's liberation.

It is in this setting that preparatory contacts for the Victoria Falls Bridge meeting take place. In these contacts it is agreed to halt the armed struggle in exchange for the release of the nationalist leaders imprisoned by Smith and for the withdrawal of South African forces from Zimbabwe.

Imperialism triumphs again in Victoria Falls:

The ANC is divided;

The armed struggle comes to a standstill;

The international community, confused and disheartened, no longer knows whom to support and how to support the struggle of Zimbabwe, or who to support in that struggle.

In these circumstances, while Smith, negotiating with Joshua Nkomo in Salisbury, tries a second internal solution, imperialism uses its available forces to invade Angola.

The humiliating defeat inflicted by the People's Republic of Angola on the invaders consolidates people's power in the country and definitively changes the balance of forces in the region.

Imperialism is thoroughly discredited. The victories of Vietnam, Laos, and Democratic Kampuchea are still fresh in the memories of the people. In the United States presidential elections are drawing closer. At the same time, notwithstanding their defeat at Victoria Falls, the Zimbabwean nationalists reaffirm their determination to follow the path of the armed national liberation struggle, begin to reorganize the fighting forces, and create ZIPA.

On the 3rd of March, 1976, the People's Republic of Mozambique decrees the full application of sanctions against the illegal regime. The internal situation of the Salisbury regime worsens.

On Friday, the 19th of March, Smith publicly breaks off the negotiations with Joshua Nkomo in Salisbury; he abandons the internal solution. On Monday, the 22nd of March, the British Foreign Secretary, speaking in Parliament, presents a new proposal for a solution.

Keeping the initiative, imperialism once again replaces an unfavorable internal solution by a proposal for an international solution. Thus the whole subject can be tabled to be discussed all over again.

The British proposal is for a conference attended by all parties involved to discuss the independence of Zimbabwe.

In the preparatory period for this conference, the Patriotic Front is created. Thus three delegations appear in Geneva to represent Zimbabwe. In addition to the Patriotic Front, delegations led by Muzorewa and Sithole sit at the conference table.

The United States is present as an observer.

Meanwhile, internally, imperialism tries the third internal solution, including the tribal chiefs Chirau and Ndiweni in the Rhodesia Front Government.

Once again the Geneva conference ends with success for the imperialist plan. The division between the nationalist leaders is further sharpened. And by suspending the talks without breaking them, Smith creates an inconclusive, wait-and-see situation.

With the end of the Geneva Conference, there is a serious crisis in ZIPA and consequently, a slowdown in the armed struggle.

In the face of this slowdown in the armed struggle, imperialism in practice suspends the implementation of the international

solution. No one talks of Geneva anymore. It is true that contacts with the Frontline States are stepped up during this period. But imperialism's only objective is to use what it learns in these contacts to perfect its analyses and plans for the future.

When the armed struggle is intensified again after the crisis is overcome, the imperialist diplomatic initiative starts up again. The new Anglo-American plan is imperialism's first concrete proposal.

The document presented aspects which were positive for the nationalists, but, at the same time contained clauses which were a clear affront against the sovereignty of the future independent State.

If the nationalists, or some of them, had rejected the plan, imperialism would undoubtedly have mobilized public opinion to isolate them as being "intransigent" and "terrorists".

On the other hand, if all the nationalists accepted the document, this solution would preserve the colonial structure of economic and social privileges and would mean capitulation in the freedom struggle.

The kind of acceptance by the Patriotic Front and the Frontline States was the option least favorable to imperialism's interests in Zimbabwe.

On the international level, the various conferences and meetings of the Frontline States change the Anglo-American plan into a document increasingly responding to the interests of the people of Zimbabwe.

Faced with the prospect of the Anglo-American plan taking a dangerous turn, imperialism reverts to its usual strategy.

The day after the public acceptance of the document by the Front Line States and the Patriotic Front as a basis for negotiations, Ian Smith reopens his own dialogue to regionalize the conflict again and to shift the responsibility from Britain.

This time, Ian Smith's role is to intervene to get Britain out of a difficult situation.

Smith's initiative brings about the Fourth Internal Solution, which is officialized on March 3 this year with the signing of the so-called "Internal Settlement".

The response of the people of Zimbabwe to this "settlement" is the subsequent intensification of the armed struggle, which leads to the fighting reaching the suburbs of Salisbury.

The regime's economic crisis worsens month by month. The prospect of independence for Namibia, with the defeat of the plan for an internal solution which imperialism also tried in that country, strengthens the forces for the liberation of the peoples. With the support of the Front Line States, the Anglo-American plan continues to be improved.

The armed struggle forges ahead and covers practically the whole country. Smith senses the impending collapse.

Once again, as the only way to gain time, Smith finds himself obliged not to reject the Anglo-American proposals.

In June this year he agrees to participate in the conference of all parties involved, in a place outside Zimbabwe. The People's Republic of Mozambique is informed of this by the Anglo-Americans on July 5.

To participate in the conference would be to discuss the dismantling of the regime's army, to discuss the necessary preparations for independence, including the organization of new defense and security forces, as well as to discuss the Constitution of an Independent Zimbabwe.

The Patriotic Front accepts the participation of Smith in the Conference. It is precisely at this moment, when the Anglo-Americans can no longer avoid the Constitutional Conference taking place, when the African signatories to the "Internal Settle-

ment" are completely discredited internally and externally, in short, when real independence for Zimbabwe is so close, once again imperialism puts into practice its formula.

Smith reopens the dialogue and proposes the Fifth Internal Solution, again removing the attempt to resolve the problem from the international sphere. Thus Great Britain avoids having to take an unequivocal position.

The newspapers say that David Owen is about to leave at any moment for the conference, but he does not set off.

Smith launches a new offensive and contacts with Joshua Nkomo. Chirau and Ndiweni, other tribal chiefs, religious personalities, businessmen and even the chief of the regime's Special Branch, Derek Robinson, take part in this offensive, which makes a direct meeting possible on the 14th of August.

The position that the regime presents to Nkomo in all the contacts made can be summarized as follows:

(a) The regime accuses Muzorewa of being incompetent and Sithole of being unstable and confused;

(b) the regime considers that Sithole and Muzorewa misled it by claiming to be able to bring about a ceasefire, when in reality, they do not represent any significant force;

(c) the regime calls itself the representative of the will of the people of Zimbabwe;

(d) the regime, in the name of the people, invites Nkomo to take over the leadership of the new Government;

(e) the regime only accepts the inclusion of Mugabe in the Government to the extent that this is a condition put out by Nkomo.

In the course of the various contacts the regime shows special concern for the person of Joshua Nkomo. It claims to consider him the only leader capable of assuming the responsibility of leading Zimbabwe.

Only now does the regime recognize these qualities in a man

whom it imprisoned for a decade precisely for demanding independence. Why? Because realizing that the Patriotic Front is the legitimate representative of the struggling people, Smith is trying to divide it so that it will no longer constitute a threat.

In these contacts the regime presents Sithole and Muzorewa as the ones to blame for the failure of the 3rd of March "Internal Settlement". It is the same regime, that, to bring about that agreement, went preaching to the whole world about the qualities of Muzorewa and Sithole as moderate and realistic leaders, as being the true leadership of Zimbabwe. If the Patriotic Front had accepted Smith's recent proposals, how long would it be before the Patriotic Front leaders were also presented as incompetent?

When Muzorewa and Sithole accept to participate in Smith's government they accept an obligation, an obligation sealed by the massacres, by the hangings, by the tortures, by the concentration camps, by the military aggression against the people of Zimbabwe and of neighboring countries.

Imperialism lures Sithole and Muzorewa with the Internal Settlement and compromises them hopelessly in a policy of opposition against the interests of their own people.

In the contacts with Nkomo, Smith despises Sithole and Muzorewa because he has already destroyed them politically. However, he explicitly wants to keep in the political scene Chirau and Ndiweni, old and faithful servants of the regime, puppet ministers of the Rhodesia Front government.

Smith claims to be ready to give up power so long as it is then exercised by a capable government and the transfer conducted in an orderly manner.

We all want power to be assumed by a government that is capable. But capable of what? Capable of continuing the massacres, of continuing the armed aggression, of continuing the oppression and naked exploitation of the People? Capable of maintaining the colonial economy, of being the efficient managers of the structures of privilege, of representing imperialist strategy in

Southern Africa?

Or do we want power to be assumed by a government capable of guaranteeing peace, freedom and progress, capable of defending the interests of the people of Zimbabwe?

We all want power to be transferred in an orderly manner. But what does this mean? Does it mean leaving undisturbed the structure of privilege, the state apparatus, the repressive police and the criminal army? Or does it mean ending discrimination and injustice, guaranteeing conditions for the exercise of true democracy?

A criminal, the head of a regime guilty of crimes against humanity, a regime whose elimination the whole world demands, cannot arrogate to himself the role of judge of the abilities of the government which will replace him, the role of arbiter in the transfer of power. This is unacceptable.

The action of Great Britain and the United States shows that the convening of the Security Council to approve the appointment of a Resident Commissioner and a military commander of the UN force, the mobilization of the international community for economic sanctions, the assertion that they had assumed their international responsibilities, have been nothing more than maneuvers to gain time.

It is clear today that the British and North American Governments do little or nothing to discourage Smith's maneuvers which so obviously annul their own proposals. In the public speeches of its leaders, Britain encourages Smith to go ahead with his maneuvers. Today, it is the Anglo-Americans themselves who come to us to tell us that Smith's initiative has positive aspects!

It was the Anglo-Americans who tried to foment intrigue and a clash of views in our midst, saying that the Internal Settlement was a step in the right direction. However, they never mentioned what were the positive aspects which this solution was supposed to contain.

Today, as before, imperialism is consistent in its strategy, the same strategy which it has been using in the recent history of Zimbabwe, especially in the phase which opened up in 1974. Today, as before, imperialism's fundamental concern is to divide the countries which support people's liberation in Southern Africa and to eliminate the Liberation Movement.

III

Luring the nationalist leaders, leading them to commit treason and political suicide, is one of the constants of imperialism's action, especially through the Smith regime.

The present Smith government, which continues its criminal and discriminatory policy, includes personalities who just two years ago belonged to the leadership of the country's Liberation Movement.

What was the political itinerary which led them to their present status as enemies of their own people and partners of Smith?

Bishop Abel Muzorewa had been chosen by the imprisoned nationalist leaders to lead the campaign against the Smith-Douglas Home proposals which the Pearce Commission submitted to the people of Zimbabwe in 1971-72.

The ANC, under the Bishop's leadership, managed in reality to mobilize the people and to frustrate this imperialist plan.

However, once the mission which had been entrusted to it was terminated, the ANC did not dissolve itself and, in practice, became a political party. In spite of having banned all the parties and arrested their leaders, the regime allows Muzorewa to continue his activities. The ANC, in statements by its leader, takes a position against armed struggle. This is the first sign of the contradiction between Muzorewa and the national liberation struggle.

It is the first sign of a process which is aimed at making Muzorewa a personality with an international audience, an alter-

native to the liberation struggle. When later he participates in various divisive maneuvers and finally signs the "Internal Settlement", Muzorewa does no more than complete his betrayal.

The Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, also a member of the Executive Council which came out of the "Internal Settlement", was one of the founders and President of ZANU. In 1964, he was arrested with the other leaders, and his party is banned for publicly proclaiming the path of the armed struggle. In prison, Sithole is directly compromised with the Rhodesian Special Branch chief Derek Robinson. With the aim of securing his early release, Sithole publicly condemns the path of the armed struggle and the fighters who struggle and die in the name of the party of which he is President. This betrayal by Sithole is the beginning of a journey which leads him, after his release, into constant maneuvers to destroy ZANU and finally into an alliance with Smith.

James Chikerema is the "Black Minister" of Power, Mines, Roads and Works of the regime. After intense political activity in nationalist youth organizations he joins ZAPU, in which he comes to occupy the post of Acting President and representative of the imprisoned Joshua Nkomo. His regionalist tendencies and thirst for power make it easy for the enemy to manipulate him. He begins a divisive, systematic action to destroy ZAPU. This culminates in his desertion from the party which he had disorganized and divided, in order to create FROLIZI. In recent years he has been with the ANC of Muzorewa. At the Bishop's side, and with the "Internal Settlement", the process of his betrayal is complete.

Muzorewa, Sithole and Chikerema are the best known of the traitors. With them are Nyandoro, Gabellah, Mandaza, Malindi and others.

The action of luring and discrediting nationalists continues. To do this, the regime uses the most diverse agents: religious leaders, tribal chiefs, businessmen, ordinary citizens and close associates of Smith, such as Derek Robinson, Ndiweni and Chirau.

Derek Robinson, who recruited Sithole in prison, is the head of the regime's security police. Ndiweni, promoted from police con-

stable to tribal chief, was a Minister of the Rhodesia Front Government. Chirau, promoted from prison guard to tribal chief, was a Senator and a Minister of the Rhodesia Front.

On Smith's orders these two tribal chiefs in late 1976 formed ZUPO, which is in reality a sub-section of the Rhodesia Front. It is no more than a clumsy attempt to organize a new force to oppose the influence of the Patriotic Front among the population. Among the black population ZUPO acts as a department of the regime's security police.

These are the collaborators used by Smith to recruit agents and renegades from our midst. These are the puppets who dare to come and speak in the name of the People and seek to present themselves as defenders of peace and freedom in Zimbabwe. These are the traitors to whom imperialism wants to attribute the stature of respectable men, competent men, motivated by good will for a solid agreement with the Patriotic Front.

As for Smith, his credentials are well known in Nyadzonja, Chimoio, Tembwe; they are well known by the populations at the borders of Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, by the Zimbabweans in concentration camps, by the widows and orphans of the martyrs who are hanged every day.

It is Smith who cynically speaks in the name of the people.

It is Smith who cynically comes among us to hand out certificates of the incompetence of Muzorewa and Sithole.

It is Smith who insults us by imagining that he can find among us an heir to his regime.

It is Smith who, having contempt for the UN and the OAU, and for the International Community, comes short of recognizing the Patriotic Front, and arrogantly wants to speak to just one individual.

It is Smith, leader of a barbaric army of foreign mercenaries, who wants to present himself to us as the defender of unity and

peace, the guarantor of stability and order, the reasonable negotiator in search of dialogue.

This is the Smith who tries to arrange things so that it is the Patriotic Front and the Front Line which legitimize his racist, rebel and illegal regime, accepting him as the one to negotiate with.

IV

By analyzing the successive projected internal solutions to the Zimbabwe question and the policy of luring the old-established nationalist leaders, it is possible to understand the broad objectives of the most recent plan for which Smith is the spokesman.

By trying to recruit Nkomo, imperialism basically wants to provoke the end of the people's armed struggle, emptying the liberation struggle of its real content.

To this end, and coinciding with the eventual political liquidation of Nkomo, it seeks to split the Patriotic Front, launch confusion among the people and warp the correct definition of the enemy.

In trying to recruit Nkomo for Smith's Government, imperialism would like to integrate ZAPU and receive its army in the perspective formulated by David Owen, according to which those who are youngsters would return to the schools, the workers would return to the mines, the peasants would return to their fields.

In reality, this means to de-activate the army of the People, demobilizing the fighters, the peasants, the workers and the students, while maintaining Smith's army.

By dividing the Patriotic Front, imperialism also seeks to isolate Robert Mugabe and to present him to the public as the intransigent, racist and extremist rebel.

By eliminating the Patriotic Front, by putting a stop to the

liberation struggle, imperialism would guarantee the conditions for preserving in their essence the political and economic structures of colonial capitalism.

At the international level, imperialism has the objective of fomenting contradictions between Front Line States and sowing confusion in the OAU, in order to eliminate this important instrument of the cause of the liberation of Africa.

In trying to entice Nkomo the imperialists want to make the liberation struggle appear as a civil war between factions of the liberation movement, thus confusing the international community and thereby losing its support. In this way conditions would have been created for a proposal at the United Nations to lift sanctions.

The maneuver to lure Nkomo ultimately aims at the direct involvement of imperialism in the region. By demobilizing the international community, by handing over power to a puppet government and by labelling the liberation struggle as a civil war, imperialism would create the pretext to intervene militarily in the area and generalize the armed conflict according to the formula already used in Vietnam and Korea, to give only two examples.

There are two determining factors for the intervention which imperialism is preparing in Southern Africa:

One is the economic and strategic importance of the region. The so-called Cape route and the vast mineral resources are becoming decisive to the domination of sectors vital to the maintenance of imperialist hegemony.

The other factor is predominantly cultural and is linked to the racist nature of the regime. The future and the wealth of the Rhodesian settlers is a very important factor for internal stability in the Republic of South Africa, bastion of imperialist interests in Southern Africa. Imperialism therefore needs to safeguard the privileges of the white settlers.

Smith's racist regime is still being used to implement imperialist strategy because Zimbabwe has not yet produced a neo-

colonial leader with enough stature to be accepted by the Zimbabwean people and by the world. It was with a view to solving this problem that imperialism tried to lure Joshua Nkomo. By refusing to discuss Smith's invitation without the presence of Robert Mugabe, Nkomo blocked the implementation of this stage of the plan.

The fundamental objective of imperialist intervention is to destabilize the progressive countries in the region and hinder their development, thus preventing them from breaking free from dependency and guaranteeing the survival of the system of exploitation.

V

The various proposals presented by the imperialists, whether through Great Britain and the United States or through Smith or Chirau, have certain common aspects.

1. They are not presented as the result of the armed struggle. They are presented as the peaceful path to solve what the armed path fails to solve.

Imperialism is well aware of the fact that the armed struggle is the decisive factor of evolution and change in Zimbabwe. Hence whenever the armed struggle is intensified imperialism intensifies its diplomatic activities.

Imperialism is well aware of the fact that the armed struggle is a cultural act at the highest level, that it liberates the people from complexes derived from their exploitation, oppression and humiliation.

In order to hamper this deep liberating process, the imperialists engage in the systematic division of the Liberation Movement, in the physical or political elimination of its leaders.

2. The proposals are aimed at legitimizing Smith's rebel and

illegal regime for they consider him an indispensable part of any solution. In this way they are also aimed at legitimizing the settlers' privileges.

Smith appears in imperialist mass media as the settlers' representative. The unity of interests of the settlers is synthesized in unity behind Smith.

The methodology of imperialist propaganda is significant.

When, for example, Sithole became a dissident of ZANU, he started to be regarded as a new interested party. When the two ANCs appeared, Muzorewa and Nkomo were immediately regarded as two more interested parties.

The imperialists go to the extent of regarding as interested parties Chirau and Ndiweni, organized in a ZUPO which they know to have been created and financed by Smith.

Concerning the Rhodesia Front, imperialism has diverse attitudes: the various dissident factions which could be observed in the party were not considered interested parties in the negotiations because they did not represent anybody.

On the other hand, Muzorewa and Sithole, even though they are considered by Smith himself as non-representative, incapable and politically useless, continue to be "interested parties" for the Anglo-Americans.

The ultimate objective is to counterpose the division of the Zimbabweans to the unity of the settlers.

3. The proposals are aimed at defending and maintaining the structures of power and, therefore, the social structures of privilege. Waving the flag of the danger of economic and social chaos, imperialism in reality wants to prevent the politico-social transformations of independent Zimbabwe from causing the collapse of the colonial-capitalist economy.

It is in this perspective that they systematically refuse liberation

by the armed struggle and seek to transfer power from their blood-stained hands to what they call "safe hands".

4. The proposals seek to protect the interests of the settlers and reveal imperialism's obsession with their safety. For imperialism, the settlers are the representatives of culture, science and progress, the factor for social stability, the guarantee of civilization, Western civilization.

This is the racist attitude which all the imperialist initiatives reveal. For this Christian and Western civilization, the death of a dozen settlers, even if they are members of a para-military organization, merits much more emphasis than the massacre of 600 Zimbabwean refugees.

The fate of the mercenaries condemned in Angola moved Heads of State to action. The daily murder of Zimbabweans by the regime's forces or in the police dungeons merits a few lines at the most in the inside pages of the newspapers.

What would have been the reaction of Great Britain or the United States if the 650 refugees massacred at Nyadzonia had been English?

What would their attitude have been if the dozens of people hanged and murdered by the regime were white North Americans?

Africa is full of recent examples which give the answer.

5. The proposals attempt to present independence as granted by Great Britain or by Smith, rather than won by the people.

In this way they all appear as gestures of goodwill and not as resulting from the progress of the struggle.

In order to obtain a ceasefire without prior negotiation imperialism seeks to diminish the importance of the armed struggle and deny the existence of the Patriotic Front.

6. In the proposals, South Africa appears as an indispensable

factor for the implementation of any eventual agreement for the independence of Zimbabwe.

South Africa is the local watch dog of imperialism, it is the force which guarantees the defense of the interests of imperialism and of the settlers.

VI

We have seen how imperialism utilizes its strategy for the two alternatives in strict coordination. Great Britain and Smith are the two sides of the same coin, the coin of imperialism.

Smith is merely the representative of the settlers in Zimbabwe. His strength, the survival capacity of his regime since UDI stems from imperialist support. Smith's regime is an anachronistic regime, an echo of the last century, a regime fed by the imperialists who wish to gain time while they search for a substitute, which is to say for a neo-colonial solution. Though only temporarily, Smith is still useful to the imperialists. But for Smith imperialism is indispensable.

That is why we are doing the right thing when we define Great Britain as the one to negotiate with, when we force it to assume its responsibilities.

It is precisely because that solution is correct that Great Britain mobilizes all its influence in order to once again step down from the role of protagonist. Great Britain only turns up when Smith's situation is desperate.

Great Britain, as the power which has the task of looking after imperialism's interests in Zimbabwe, is the only proper negotiating partner in the talks.

VII

When our economy was in a crisis of transformation, when the foreign technicians were abandoning our production units, when the biggest farm owners were killing the cattle, sabotaging the machinery and leaving the fields uncultivated, when our people faced the settlers' infuriated actions, we applied the decisions of the international community, closing the border with the illegal regime. For our people engaged in national reconstruction, this decision represented a heavy economic sacrifice.

Continually invaded and attacked by the murderous brutality of the fascist regime, we remained firm and resolute in support of the Zimbabwean people. Today, with our defense capacity strengthened and our increased stability, our firmness is even greater, our determination is still more intransigent.

The internationalism of our people was forged and developed in the armed struggle for national liberation. It is rooted in firm principles, it lives in our daily practice, it is an essential element of our culture, of the Mozambican personality.

Born out of the armed struggle for national liberation, the People's Republic of Mozambique, as a free and sovereign country, today supports and will continue to support the Zimbabwean people's heroic liberation struggle.

We totally reject the idea that the path of armed struggle and the path of negotiations are either mutually-exclusive alternatives or contradictions in the process of national liberation.

We do not love war but we believe that, when the contradiction is antagonistic and insoluble, only war brings peace.

Our people have a saying for that: you can't make tea without boiling the water.

Talks are an important factor for victory but they are not the decisive factor.

It is clear to us that in these circumstances negotiations are always a result of the victorious armed struggle.

The People's Republic of Mozambique regards the armed struggle as the principal and decisive factor for victory.

The People's Republic of Mozambique supports the Zimbabwean people in their just armed struggle to liberate their country.

The People's Republic of Mozambique resolutely supports the Patriotic Front, the legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean People's aspirations.

ZIMBABWE WILL BE INDEPENDENT!

THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WILL WIN!

AFRICA WILL TRIUMPH!

A LUTA CONTINUA!

PAMBERI NE CHIMURENGA!



CREDITS

Front Cover:

Left, President Samora Machel (Photo: Robert van Lierop)

Center, ZANLA guerillas (*Zimbabwe News*)

Right, President of ZANU and co-leader of the Patriotic Front, Robert Mugabe (*Zimbabwe News*)

Inside Front Cover:

Map of Southern Africa (International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa)

Opposite Introduction:

President Samora Machel (*Zimbabwe News*)

Inside Back Cover:

Young ZANLA guerilla (*Zimbabwe News*)

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